

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

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FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6522

INFG AMEMBESSY BLANTYRE

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LGNDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCOIMARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GABORONE 0537

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ECIN, BC, SF, ZA, YS

SUBJECT: POLICY: POLITICO-ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

REF: A. GABORONE A-15 (NOTAL)

B. MBABANE A-23 (NOTAL)

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

1. I WISH INVITE ATTENTION TO REF MESSAGES RECOMMENDING THAT
DEPARTMENT SET UP TASK FORCE TO STUDY ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OR
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COOPERATION AMONG CERTAIN SOUTHERN AFRICAN STATES. I BELIEVE

AN INSTITUTIONALIZED SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND POLITICAL CONSULTATION INVOLVING BLACK MAJORITY-RULED STATES SHOULD BE HELPFUL IN WORKING FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE RECOMMENDED STUDY SHOULD COVER ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA, MALAWI, MOZANBIQUE AND SWAZILAND; IT WOULD ALSO INCLUDE RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AS MEMBER COUNTRIES IN ANTICIPATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN THESE TERRITORIES. THIS KIND OF EAST-WEST ECONOMIC AND TRADE ORIENTATION WOULD ENHANCE THE POWER OF THE STATES INVOLVED IN THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA. IT WOULD PUT THEM IN A STRONGER POSITION TO ASSERT THEIR INDEPENDENCE IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND EQUALITY.

ECONOMIC GROWTH POTENTIAL

2. PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY ENHANCED BY ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OR COOPERATION AMONG MAJORITY-RULED STATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. A COMMUNITY INVOLVING ANGOLA, NAMIBIA, BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA, RHODESIA, MALAWI, MAZAMBIQUE AND SWAZILAND WOULD COVER AN AREA OF 1.8 MILLION SQUARE MILES. IT WOULD HAVE A 1500- MILE COMMON BORDER WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND A POPULATION OF 33 MILLION. THIS AREA IS RICHLY ENDOWED WITH MINERAL RESOURCES INCLUDING OIL, COAL, URANIUM, COPPER, DIAMONDS, IRON ORE, ASBESTOS, MANGANESE AND LEAD. ANGOLA AND MOZANBIQUE HAVE SEAPORTS WHICH ARE IMPORTANT FOR NAVAL FUELING STOPS AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN TRANSIT TRADE. ECONOMIC INTEGRATION WOULD HELP INSURE EFFICIENCY IN EXPLOITING RESOURCES, ESTABLISHING INDUSTRIES, RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS, EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, DAMS, ROADS, RAILWAYS AND OTHER INFRASTRUCTURE. IT WOULD ENLARGE THE SIZE OF MARKETS, ENABLE MEMBER COUNTRIES TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMIES OF SCALE AND THUS STIMULATE GREATER INFLOW OF PRIVATE CAPITAL.

3. I VIEW RAPID POLITICAL CHANGES TAKING PLACE, NOW IS THE TIME FOR COUNTRIES THEMSELVES AND AID DONORS TO THINK AND PLAN MORE ON A REGIONAL BASIS. A BEGINNING COULD BE MADE IN SYSTEMATIC EAST-WEST ORIENTED REGIONAL PLANNING OF TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES, EDUCATIONAL, RESEARCH AND OTHER SUCH INSTITUTIONS; A FREE TRADE AREA OR COMMON MARKET
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SHOULD BE CREATED BEFORE TOO MANY NON-COMPETITIVE INDUSTRIES AND OTHER OBSTACLES ARE ERECTED. CLEARLY, COUNTRIES IN THE REGION BORDERING SOUTH AFRICA WOULD MAKE GREATER PROGRESS WORKING TOGETHER RATHER THAN IN SEPARATE NATIONAL COMPARTMENTS.

COUNTERWEIGHT TO COMMUNISM

4. WESTER, SUPPORTED ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS

DESIRABLE TO HELP COUNTER GROWING COMMUNITY PENETRATION AND RADICAL INFLUENCE IN THE REGION. SOME LEADERS IN THE AREA ARE ALREADY CONCERNED ABOUT A PRC OR SOVIET SUPPORTED "FEDERATION OF SOCIALIST-TYPE STATES". THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT COMMUNIST PRESSURE ESPECIALLY ON MOZAMBIQUE FOR USE OF INDIAN OCEAN FACILITIES. CONTINUED OVERFLIGHT AND PORT ACCESS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE ASSURED IF DECISIONS ARE MADE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A SOUTHERN AFRICAN COMMUNITY. ECONOMIC PRAGMATISM IS MORE LIKELY TO PREVAIL. PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT FOR DEVELOPMENT OF MINERALS AND ESTABLISHING MANUFACTURING FACILITIES WOULD BE MORE FORTHCOMING. THE INFLOW OF SUCH CAPITAL IN ITSELF WOULD HELP INSURE AT LEAST A MIXED ENTERPRISE SYSTEM AND TEND TO COUNTER DOCTRINAIRE SOCIALIST APPROACHES.

REGULAR POLITICAL CONSULTATION

5. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE CURRENT CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS MORE LIKELY TO BE SUSTAINED IN AN INSTITUTIONALIZED FRAMEWORK WHICH PROVIDES FOR REGULAR POLITICAL CONSULTATION AT THE CHIEF OF STATE AND FOREIGN MINISTER LEVELS. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS MAKE CLEAR THAT STATES BORDERING ON SOUTH AFRICA ARE MUCH MORE CONCILIATORY IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA AND THAT STATESMEN LIKE PRESIDENTS KAUNDA AND KHAMA WILL HAVE A GOOD INFLUENCE ON LEADERS OF NEWLY INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE AND ANOLA. MACHINERY WHICH PROVIDED FOR INSTITUTIONALIZED POLITICAL COORDINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD ALSO HELP BALANCE LONG-DISTANCE RUNNERS AND BELLIGERENTS LIKE ALGERIA. BLACK MAJORITY-RULED STATES WOULD HAVE MUCH MORE LEVERAGE IN POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA IF THEY ARE WORKING TOGETHER AS A UNIT. IF INSTITUTIONALIZED COOPERATION CONTRIBUTED TO A RELAXATION OF TENSION AND AVOIDANCE OF ARMED CONFLICT, SOUTH AFRICANS COULD

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NOT POSSIBLY OBJECT AND COULD CONCEIVABLY OFFER SUPPORT.

COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

6. IDEALLY, BROADER ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA SHOULD INCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA, BUT THIS CLEARLY IS NOT POSSIBLE AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICA MAINTAINS ITS SYSTEM OF RACIAL EXCLUSIVENESS. IF AND WHEN HUMAN DIGNITY AND EQUALITY IS ACHIEVED IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE ENTIRE REGION WORKING TOGETHER COULD MAKE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES. THIS WOULD SERVE U.S. INTEREST; IT WOULD EASE THE BURDEN ON U.S. AID RESOURCES AND HELP SECURE OUR STRATEGIC, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS NOT ONLY IN SOUTH AFRICA BUT THE REGION AS A WHOLE.

RECOMMENDATION

7. THAT THE DEPARTMENT SET UP A TASK FORCE TO STUDY ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND COOPERATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH VIEW DEVELOPING FURTHER COURSES OF ACTION TO ACCELERATE PEACEFUL CHANGE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. SOME MAY ARGUE THAT ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND REGULAR POLITICAL CONSULTATION WOULD FURTHER UPSET THE STATUS QUO IN SOUTH AFRICA AND JEOPARDIZE U.S. INTERESTS. I SUBMIT THAT THE STATUS QUO CANNOT BE MAINTAINED; WE NEED IMPROVED STRUCTURES THROUGH WHICH TO WORK FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE.

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